

100 Pills for Tariff Reformers

By J. Rule.



PUBLISHED BY THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY,
23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

INDIA.

Impressions and Suggestions.

By J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

CONTENTS.

Author's Preface.

Some Facts and Figures.

Calcutta.

Eastern Bengal.

The Swadeshi Movement. (Among the Peasants.)

The Partition of Bengal. (Political and Religious Feeling.)

Benares.

A Land of Hunger.

Mr. Hardie says:—"Everything which serves to call attention to the condition of India and its peoples, must be of advantage to the patient toilers and thinkers of that far-off land, for the well-being of whose suffering millions the Democracy of Great Britain are responsible. Repression (of the people of India) will only intensify their determination to secure self-government, and may lead finally to the loss of what has been described as the brightest jewel in the British Crown. It is for statesmen to choose which path they will follow."

Crown 8vo., Cloth covers, 1/6 net; Paper Covers, 1/- net. Postage, 3d. extra.

Of all booksellers, W. H. Smith & Sons' or Wyman's bookstalls, or direct from the Publishers—

THE I.L.P., 23, BRIDE LANE, FLEET STREET, E.C.

SOCIALIST REVIEW.

A Monthly Review of Modern Thought.

6d. Net.

The Socialist Review is an official organ of the Independent Labour Party. It is a platform from which Socialist and Labour questions can be freely discussed. The Review "Outlook" is one of the sanest and best pronouncements on Socialist progress appearing in the Socialist publications of this or any other country. The actions of Socialists and men of affairs freely commented upon. The theories and policy of Socialism discussed from all points of view. It describes Sociological and Industrial changes of interest, and examines modern tendencies in Legislation and Commerce. The Socialist Review is essential to every one interested in Politics and matters concerning the Socialist and Labour movement. It is the only important Review dealing with the subjects which are of vital interest to Socialists and Social Reformers.

Socialist Review Free monthly Supplement. Full page portraits of such prominent Socialist leaders as Auguste Bebel, Karl Marx, Jean Jaurés, Edward Bernstein, J. Keir Hardie, M.P., J. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P.

Vol. III. Socialist Review, bound in good red cloth, lettered in gold on the back, containing the above mentioned portraits.

Price 3/6, postage 5d. extra.

Vol. II. and Vol. I. Special price to clear, 2/6, post free.

Binding Cases for each volume, 1/- each, post free.

From all Newsagents and Bookstalls, or direct from the I.L.P., at 23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C. Subscription terms 7s. 6d. per year, or 2s. per quarter, post free.

One Hundred Pills for Tariff Reformers.

1. The great cause which produces poverty as its effect, is the private appropriation of excessive riches. Tariff barriers do not affect the position of such monopolists; therefore, Tariff Reform cannot abolish poverty.

2. Mr. Rockefeller possesses greater riches than any other man in the world. Mr. Rockefeller is the product of protectionist America. His influence in the realms of American Finance is so strong, that the industries of the United States practically depend upon his will. Would British industry be benefited by the creation of British Rockefellers?

3. Although Mr. Rockefeller possesses such tremendous power, he does not stand alone. There are others like him. These create Trusts. Trusts create misery for the poor and dollars for the exploiters. Therefore, the poor are not considered. American life, social, religious and political, is subservient to the domination of the Trusts. This obtains under Tariff Reform. Would it then be wise to make England a reflex of these conditions?

4. There is but one method by which wealth can be created. Human industry applied to natural objects creates *all* wealth. Tariff Reform does not reward industry with the just recompense of its producing capacity. Why is this refused?

5. Rent, Interest and Profit—the “holy trinity” of Commercialism—cost the British people over £100,000 an hour. This continues every hour, day and night. Can industry receive its just reward when *that* drainage is continually occurring. Tariff Reform therefore cannot grant to its true recompense whilst it supports a system wherein Landlords, Usurers and Profit-mongers extract enormous wealth from the efforts of the toilers.

6. Trustification of industry has arrived in Britain. The individual employer is fast passing away. The "Combine" swallows him or drives him out of business. He is compelled to go, for these great monopolies are the natural outcome of capitalistic evolution. Tariff Reform cannot check their growth. Protective tariffs protect the Capitalist, and Capital is yearly passing into fewer hands.

7. Will Tariff Reformers explain what advantages a Protectionist monopoly would hold to the workers, over a Free Trade monopoly?

8. Protectionist America erects no barriers to prevent merciless scoundrels from cornering the supply of the people's food. What guarantee can the Tariff Reformers give to the workers of this country that such a menace would be avoided if Britain accepted their proposals?

9. Our Landed Aristocrats are giving the Tariff Reform movement their enthusiastic support. They are yearning for a return of the "good old days." They do not seek a return of those days, however, when the earth was the Lord's and the fullness thereof.

10. The Duke of Sutherland acts as deputy for the Almighty to the extent of over 1,300,000 acres. He is the President of the Scottish Tariff Reform Association. His nomination was submitted by the Duke of Argyll, and supported by the Earl of Glasgow. The most enthusiastic political pill swallower could not desire a more appropriate trio. Glasgow, Argyll, Sutherland. G.A.S.

11. The aristocracy are perfectly class conscious; whereas the workers are not. Class legislation in the interests of their own section, and irrespective of the public good, has always been the motto of aristocratic political activity. They know that Tariff barriers would strengthen their economic position. They use the workers simply as pawns on the political chess-board. The Socialist has arrived, however, to teach the worker that the power he possesses is required to make life better for himself and his family. Tariff Reform will not do that, since it re-

fuses to overthrow the influences which make the worker's life an incessant struggle against poverty.

12. Between the years 1760 and 1888 nearly 8,000,000 acres of common land was appropriated by the aristocracy. Tariff Reform will not return this "lost" property to the British people. Why?

13. The worker is asked to be prepared to defend his country, when it has been stolen from him. He is taught to believe that he is free, whilst he is denied the privileges of life. They who have erected economic barriers against him at home, try to persuade him to vote for the erection of trade barriers *against the foreigner!* They imagine him to be foolish, because they have closed the gates of wisdom against him. He is cajoled into the idea that he is not a fit person to look after his own interests. He is treated as a political imbecile, and Tariff Reformers depend upon his political imbecility for the realization of their hopes.

14. The total wealth possessed in this country reaches the stupendous figure of £11,500,000,000. This represents £260 for every member of the community. Tariff Reformers profess a desire to add to this wealth, but why do they not evince some ability to the more equitable distribution of it? This wealth has been created by social industry, why should it not be used for social betterment?

15. Twelve persons hold land upon which the city of London is built. For *permission* to erect warehouses, workshops, homes, streets, &c., the people of London pay to these people £50,000 a day! Then the Londoner is told to beware of the foreigner, and that Socialism would mean robbery!

16. Less than 14,000 persons in this country receive incomes amounting in the aggregate to £200,000,000 a year. This is how they have solved the right to live. 3570 receive from £5,000 to £6,000 a year; 6010 battle against the wolf upon £6,000 to £10,000 a year; 4050 take from £10,000 to £50,000 a year; whilst 350 "friends of

the workers " average £2,500 a week ! Will Tariff Reform provide that these people should earn these incomes ?

17. The average wages paid to the adult British worker is less than a pound a week. In every Capitalistic country in the world none are permitted to earn wages at all, unless profits can be derived from the exploitation of the wage-slave. The Golden Dragon, like the Almighty Dollar, only protects those who control it, and Tariff Reform seeks to perpetuate this power.

18. In this wealthy land 2,500,000 people seek poor law relief yearly. With few exceptions these people have been born and reared in poverty. The abolition of poverty is the only means by which this blot can be removed. Tariff Reform will not solve the poverty problem, hence, it is of no use to thinking men.

19. In Free Trade England 1,000,000 married women daily leave their homes to work in the factories and workshops. This speaks bad for Free Trade, but will the Tariff Reformers explain the reason why the same thing obtains in Protectionist countries ?

20. Eminent Tariff Reformers tell us that Socialism will destroy the home life. This comes by Socialism affecting the eminent Tariff Reformers. Perhaps when these gentlemen have discovered the path of truth they will inform us of the " beauties " of the home wherein the breadwinner receives the average labourers wages, and tell us why they refuse to harbour their dogs under such conditions.

21. Thousands of British women in sweated occupations work from 10 to 16 hours a day for wages ranging from 2/- to 9/- a week. Tariff Reform will not prevent the continuation of this deplorable condition ; for are we not told that the sweated goods of the foreigner are a menace upon our home market. When we remember that the foreigner has erected Tariff barriers to protect his industries, the failure of Tariff Reform to remove sweated conditions is obvious.

22. The British worker falls sick or out of work. An exacting landlord demands his rent. The bailiffs come and seize the goods which have cost the worker many years of anxious toil and saving to procure. What has Tariff Reform to offer to this man?

23. The British worker dies and leaves a young family to mourn their loss. What becomes of them? If the widow is hale and strong she may manage to eke out a sparse existence by entering the factory or resorting to the wash-tub. But what occurs if she is weak and unfit? But why elaborate. Do not the workers know the whole tragedy! The champions of Tariff Reform offer no solution for this condition of things, as they contend *it would trespass upon the liberty of the subject, and undermine parental responsibility!*

24. The British worker finds that he is not permitted to work. He returns home weary after another day's incessant search. This has gone on for weeks—for months. There is no fire in the grate; no food in the cupboard; nothing more to pawn. What is he to do? Should he strive to bring into existence a system which the United States expresses by a tramp problem which is fast becoming a national menace; or should he not rather strike at the roots of Capitalism and thereby remove the causes which make such deplorable poverty possible?

25. There are 200,000 prostitutes known to the police of this country who are under 21 years of age. These girls are somebodys' daughters. They are the lost sisters of the poor. With few exceptions economic poverty is wholly responsible for the fall of these unfortunates. Tariff reform protects only the interests of the rich, and the interests of the rich are based upon the impoverishment and depravity of the many.

26. In this country a hundred families every week sacrifice a daughter to a life of shame. What is the cause which produces this sad result? Poverty; POVERTY; POVERTY. We cannot remove poverty by altering our fiscal conditions, so Tariff Reform is of no use to the masses.

When the apostles of Protection proclaim the " Immorality of Socialism " they wear a moral cobweb to protect their eyes. The purlieus of New York have been described as the cesspool of the world—and New York is the paradise of the Protectionist.

28. In the early part of 1908 the New York police were called out to suppress *a riot of hungry children who had raided an eating house*. The fathers of these children had voted for Protection. British fathers are being asked to do likewise. Will they ?

29. Have Tariff Reformers read the revelations told in Upton Sinclair's book, " The Jungle " ?

30. These events occurred in Chicago. Chicago possesses all the " advantages " which the British Tariff Reformer has to offer.

31. The conditions of employment in Chicago are considered to be worse than in any other part of the world. Are British workers desirous of emulating the methods adopted there ?

32. Have the British advocates for Tariff Reform heard of Pittsburg ? Mr. Carnegie made his millions there. Mr. Carnegie is opposed to Socialism. He found Protection to be more beneficial—to him. The workers of Pittsburg have another story to relate.

33. Tariff Reformers declare that the ideals of Socialism are in the clouds. When the Socialist thinks of the ideals of Protection he unfolds his handkerchief and wipes the perspiration from his forehead.

34 Tariff Reformers admit that Trades Unionism would still be necessary under their regime. But why should the workers find it desirable to organise against their employers if Tariff Reform means justice ?

35. The Civic Convention which met in New York

on April 7th, 1908, reported that more than 4,750,000 mechanics and labourers were unemployed in the United States. They further reported a general decrease in wages of 20 per cent. As the cost of living had not decreased, it is evident that both the workers and the workless of the United States find Protection ineffectual to alleviate their conditions.

36. If the manipulations of a Protectionist Trust increased the price of commodities and thereby curtailed the purchasing power of the workers, what would become of the home market? It would certainly be protected—but to who, the Capitalist or the worker?

37. As Protection cannot solve the unemployed problem, and as the employed man of to-day may be the unemployed man of to-morrow, the intelligent worker should not allow himself to be thwarted in his endeavours to find the solution of this problem.

38. The erection of Tariff barriers would not restrict the high rates of dividends obtained by the shareholders of those industrial concerns where loathsome diseases are contracted by the workers whose sacrifice produce such dividends.

39. What has Tariff Reform to offer the unfortunate victims of lead poisoning and the physical derelicts of St. Helens and Widnes?

40. Tariff Reform would still allow the Capitalist to reap the reward of inventive genius, whereby the improved machine is utilized for the benefit of the few and not for the good of the community.

41. Every new method of production serves only to swell the profits and add to the wealth of the private speculator. This obtains in every country in the world irrespective of the fiscal conditions in operation. It matters not whether we take Free Trade Britain or Protectionist America and Germany for examples, the workers' position compels them to look upon the new improvement as a curse, whereas under proper conditions it would be heralded as a blessing to all.

42. During the boom in the cotton trade abnormally high rates of dividends were taken by the master spinners, whilst huge sums were put in reserve to guarantee a continuation of this high rate. Yet, so soon as the inevitable slump appeared, what happened? *Wages were reduced.* This was under Free Trade. What guarantee have the Tariff Reformers to offer that such a result would not occur under Protection? Such results occur wherever Capitalism spreads its wings. Free Trade or Tariff Reform makes not the least difference in matters of this description. The worker is the bottom dog every time.

43. Will somebody explain to the collier the good intentions of the Protectionist mine-owner? The collier may be interested.

44. There are no Tariff barriers existing between the steel works of Barrow-in-Furness and the streets of that town, yet a Belgian firm supplied steel rails to the Barrow Corporation considerably cheaper than they could be produced at home. Why?

45. The Earl of Lonsdale and the Duke of Buccleuch have *interests* in the iron industry of this country. Perhaps these gentlemen could explain the reason why our manufactured iron is so dear.

46. We thought it necessary to pass an Act of Parliament to prevent the impoverished alien immigrant from landing on our shores. But if he has such excellent conditions at home, why is he poor? And why does he desire to come here to find a market for his labour?

47. Sentimental people say that we cannot judge a man by his purse; but the fact remains that we do. We do not object to the alien when he is rich. He possesses the key which opens the gates of hospitality in every commercial country in the world. The poor are the "undesirables" either at home or abroad, and the fiscal relationships existing between one country and another are not, and never were, determined by considerations of the welfare of the poor.

48. The people of Britain are told to beware of a German Invasion. But why should the workers oppose such a possibility if German conditions are so good as the Tariff Reformer would have us to believe?

49. If the people of Germany possess all the advantages which accrue from a system of Protection, is it not strange that 3,259,000 of them should vote for Socialism at the last General Election there? But then, the German people are the best educated in the world.

50. In Germany the average hours of labour are longer, the rates of wages are less, and the cost of food is more than in England. This does not prove, however, that English conditions are what they might be; it only goes to show that Protection is not the remedy.

51. Germany reaps £34,000,000 a year from her railways. These belong to the nation and this sum goes to the national exchequer. Yet the Tariff Reformers of this country oppose the nationalization of our railways. State railways are good for Germany, therefore they would be good for England. And if railway nationalization is good, why should we not nationalize mines, shipping, factories and industry generally?

52. The amount taken by British railway shareholders would permit an increase of wages of 10/- per week to every worker on the railways, and then leave a surplus sufficient to provide every person in the country over 65 years of age with a pension of 10/- per week. And yet the Tariff Reformers cry "Beware of the foreigner."

53. The railway companies of this country have erected barriers against practically all British industry. The freightage charges upon British produce, when compared with the charges made upon foreign produce, are so alarmingly detrimental to the Britisher that one wonders why the traders of this country have not demanded their readjustment. Here is a system of tariffs which require reformation. How is it that the Tariff Reformers never mention this?

54. The existence of Conciliation Boards prove that the interests of railway shareholders and railway workers are *not* the same. Tariff Reformers, therefore, by supporting Capitalism support the shareholders.

55. There are 3000 railway directors in this country. In this "industry" the too old at forty ban does not operate. Goat-milking is congenial to longevity—in the milker. It is the goats who die quickly. As the same thing transpires in Protectionist America, it is evident that Tariff Reform does not interfere with this process.

56. Tariff Reformers do not object to the free importation of American electioneering tactics. The dumping of political refuse upon our shores demands the erection of moral barriers. Every sincere politician ought, at least, to be clean in his methods.

57. Tariff Reformers have denounced Socialism as irreligious. Will they point out the ethics of Capitalism

58. We cannot remove the injustice of poverty unless we attack the position of the exceeding rich. Our Tariff Reform friends will find this clearly stated in the New Testament.

59. Do Tariff Reformers appreciate "Thy kingdom come on earth as it is in heaven" as simply an empty sentiment? All men are equal in the sight of God—then why not in the sight of man? If all men are brethren, all should have equal rights.

60. Tariff Reformers would do well to remember that the carrying of a prayer book does not necessarily add to the purity of the soul, and that the most unscrupulous scoundrel may be the sweetest singer in the congregation.

61. Certain professing English Christians who pull the strings of the Tariff Reform movement, live luxuriously in disobedience to the Divine command, "Go work

in my vineyard," and claim the power to exploit those who cultivate it. They profess a belief in Christ whilst imposing the conditions which met with His severest denunciation.

62. The Duke of Rutland designated Socialism as Atheism, Immorality and Theft. He holds 75,000 acres of the vineyard and receives from it an income of £90,000 a year. That is the Duke's conception of honesty, morality and belief in the Deity. The Duke is an ardent Tariff Reformer.

63. Tariff Reformers cry for more Dreadnoughts. Free Traders respond by granting their request. This is the Capitalistic method of proclaiming "peace on earth, goodwill towards men."

64. The hungry children of the poor cry for bread. It is computed that 500,000 go underfed to our elementary schools daily. Tariff Reformers oppose the compulsory feeding of these starving little ones. They consider it essential that the child should be taught about the miracle of the loaves and fishes, yet they refuse to translate such teaching into practice.

65. Every child should be entitled to receive the best education that the nation could provide for it. We cannot feed the mind whilst we starve the body. Tariff Reform gives no guarantee that the children of the nation shall be fed, and therefore does not make for an intellectual race.

66. The great public schools: Eton, Harrow, Charterhouse and others, were built and endowed for the children of the poor. Will Tariff Reformers explain how the workers' children came to be robbed of the privilege of going to these schools?

67. Will Tariff Reformers explain why slums exist in New York and Berlin? It may stimulate the denizens of Ancoats and Whitechapel to strive for the glorious

ideal that Protection has to offer them. This, however, could easily be attained by each determining to remove next door.

68. The American slum father votes for Protection. The British slum father pins his faith in Free Trade. Hooray! The same pack of cards, only a different suit. The same filthy conditions with different methods of keeping them so. The same misguided people under different flags. The same exploiters, with a different label. The same apathy of the many, and consequently the same power to rob them. Yet we are taught to believe that man is the noblest creature of creation and that wisdom is his cardinal virtue.

69. Nearly half of the children of the workers die before they reach five years of age. Do Tariff Reformers look upon this as an act of God, or do they accept the natural laws of cause and effect? If they accept the first proposition will they explain why the children of the rich escape. If not, why do they refuse to strike at the root of the cause which produces such an effect?

70. Will Tariff Reformers explain the causes which create pauperism, and tell us the difference between pauperization under Free Trade and pauperization under Protection?

71. In London one person in every 32 is chargeable to the rates. The total cost of pauperism in England and Wales is over £14,000,000 a year. As the slum is the complement of the mansion, so too is the pauperization of the poor the complement of the private ownership of the means of existence. Neither Tariff barriers nor Tariff privileges can remove this blot from society.

72. 13,000 people wend their way into our vagrant wards nightly. Thousands more find shelter in brick-yards, barns, and outhouses. Many sleep under the hedges upon the roadsides. Arrests for vagrancy are so abundant that even the gutter press tires of the repetition of inserting such cases in its columns. Suicides through

desperation and want occur so frequently that we have become callous to their existence. And these things take place in the richest country the world has ever known! Tariff Reform cannot alter this condition of affairs. Poverty is the blight, and must therefore be banished ere we can cure the diseases which follow in its trail.

73. In this country 4,300 are killed and 120,000 injured through industrial accidents every year. Yet our pseudo-patriotic friends are always prophesying the *coming war!* There is war all the time. A ghastly struggle against poverty on the one hand, and a merciless grasping for riches on the other. Hundreds of miners have lost their lives through the negligence of the mine-owners. The railway companies, by their refusal to adopt automatic couplings are directly responsible for the miseries of thousands of widows and orphans. How many girls have been caught in the machinery of our factories and paid the price of remorseless and soulless dividend hunting? Tariff Reform has no remedy for this.

74. The wealth creating capacity of this country is enormous. In spite of the lack of industrial organization and a million unemployed potential wealth producers being denied the right to create more wealth, the amount created averages 2s. 2d. a day per head of population. And yet we are told that Tariff Reform is the thing necessary for the welfare of the people.

75. The Bible tells us that "the eyes of the fool are in the ends of the earth." Seven persons in this country reap £15,000,000 yearly from *three square miles* of land. Tariff Reformers may now understand where many of the two-and-twopences go. The eyes of the fool have wandered afar, but the foolish man of yesterday is thinking to-day. He will call the reckoning to-morrow.

76. Tariff Reformers contend that human nature is faulty, and is therefore unfit to embrace a system of true human brotherhood. The *inhuman* nature of the exploiter however, cannot be taken as the standard by which humanity may be judged. The poor through countless ages

have been kept in ignorance and subjection by the few whose avarice demanded the annihilation of all that is sweet and pure in human nature. The deformity of the human mind is the foundation upon which the pyramid of oppression has been built. It is the business of the Capitalist to keep humanity in the darkness of prejudice. It is the duty of the Socialist to call it to the light.

77. Mr. Morrison amassed a fortune of £12,000,000. He inherited £2,000,000 and allowed it to grow automatically. Four millionaires supersede him to each accumulate another hoard. They in turn—if the present system is permitted to continue—will pass on their possessions till Britain, like Rome, shall perish in the abundance of her false glory. Either the power of the Morrisons must go or the nation cannot endure. Reader, is it to be the Morrisons or the people?

78. All the salaries and wages paid in this country amounts to £600,000,000 a year. The amount of wealth produced is nearly equal to three times that sum. The worker, in effect, starts at 6 a.m. and works till 2 p.m. for his masters. For this, he is then permitted to work till 5-30 p.m. for himself and family. Under a system of Tariff barriers he performs the same operation, two-thirds of the results of his labour being taken by those who exploit him whilst he receives but one-third for allowing them.

79. In the financial year 1897-8, income tax was assessed upon £734,000,000. In 1908-9 this had risen to £1,040,000,000; *an increase of £306,000,000 in eleven years!* Only one million persons pay income tax, whilst three-fourths of those have incomes less than £700 a year. A select circle of 250,000 practically dominate the whole affairs of this country. These people provide the motor cars during election periods to carry the workers to the polling booth wherin they may verify Carlyle's observation. These are the people who tell us that Tariff Reform by creating more wealth will benefit the workers. But the creation of more wealth does not necessarily benefit the workers, or would it do so now!

80. The amount of weekly wages paid in this country has declined since 1900, whilst the cost of living has considerably increased. Capital is fast becoming better organised and passing into fewer hands. When an industry is completely controlled by a united body of profit-seekers, they are then enabled to dictate not only the price of the goods produced, but they also determine the amount of wages which shall be paid to those whose energies produce them. Tariff barriers are only erected in the interests of this profit-seeking section of the community. Can any intelligent worker consider his own interests to be identical with theirs?

81. The Trades Unionist who pins his faith to Tariff Reform would do well to ask himself why he opposes the hungry man who is prepared to undersell him in the labour market, whilst he supports those who curtail his purchasing power by monopolising the goods he produces. It is not the *amount* of wages so much as the purchasing power such wages possess which matters.

82. The year 1908 was a period of exceptional distress. Unemployment returns told their sad tale. Misery cast her shadow over the homes of hundreds of thousands of our population. Poverty was rampant. *Yet income tax was assessed upon an additional £97,000,000.* Tariff Reform offers nothing which would prevent the continuation of this. The only remedy lies in the people of the nation securing control of the sources of wealth, and substituting production for the public good in the place of production for individual gain.

83. Many people deplore that the birth rate in this country is declining. But should we express surprise at this? Can we reasonably expect potential parents to perform their obligations to society, when society refuses to give any guarantee of opportunity to their offspring? Tariff Reform offers no such guarantee. Socialism, on the other hand, seeks to establish a state of society wherein every individual born in that society may possess the right to all the advantages society has to offer.

84. Tariff Reformers, like every section of the Capitalist class, profess to be the workers' friends. How soon does an enemy become a friend when we possess the right to vote! We assume that when women can claim the same political privileges as men, they too will be asked to vote for their "friends." To-day they are arrested and cast into prison as felons for asking for that privilege. The workers may learn much from the women's agitation. The suffragettes know what they want, and fearlessly brave all dangers in their endeavour to obtain it. When the workers know what they want, and exhibit the same courage as some of their mothers and sisters, they will get it.

85. Political friendship cannot exist when the interests of one party conflicts with the interests of the other. We see the true meaning of political friendship when the workers determine to nominate a candidate of their own. The old parties lay aside their tariff weapons when the battle has to be fought for the existence of an exploiting class. The fool and his vote, like the fool and his money, is soon parted; but experience make men wiser and they discover their "friends" eventually.

86. It is essential that men should work in order that the requirements of life shall be provided. Therefore the right to work is embodied in the right to live, and is indisputably just. Tariff Reform does not grant the right to work and is consequently unjust.

87. The Right to Work Bill of the Labour Party would provide for the man who is clamouring for work outside the gates, and thereby enable those who are employed within the gates to demand better conditions of labour. Tariff Reformers not only refuse to support this Bill, but are bitterly opposed to any legislation being directed towards that object.

88. Any system of society which possesses the power to feed, clothe and shelter its community, and yet fails to perform its possibilities, can only endure whilst the people lack intelligence. The increased productivity

of the British people is sufficient to enable every person in these islands to possess all the material things essential to comfort and happiness. Wise administration blended with honesty is all that is required to realize this. When the people realize that they possess the power to bring this state of things into existence the fiscal jugglers will close their entertainment.

89. Tariff Reformers tell us that the abolition of the wages system is impossible. The exploiters always declare the absurdity of trying to abolish wages, yet they themselves find life very enjoyable without receiving them. When the workers recognise that Capitalism considers labour power only as a commodity, they will understand what the wages system really means. Wages only represent the skim milk of industry—the cream is taken by those who possess the power to exploit it. In a true society every person would yield in accord to his ability, and in return would receive according to his needs. That would be human and just—that would be Socialism.

90. What is the position of the wage earner to-day? Capitalism is no longer asking him what he can produce; it is ever seeking how to produce without him. The most perfect machine is that which can produce the greatest amount of wealth with the least human assistance. But what is going to become of the worker when he is both displaced and dispossessed? Tariff barriers are of no use to him when the implements of wealth production are in the hands of his exploiters. Let him rise, then, and use his political power to bring forward the days when the exploitation of the workers shall have passed for ever.

91. The high priest of Protection in this country is Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. He is the Parliamentary representative for West Birmingham. In Birmingham women card 384 hooks and eyes for a penny. By working 14 hours a day these poor creatures may make 5s. 3d. a week! These half starved sisters of the poor are the daughters of the doters who have made Chamberlain their idol. The people of Birmingham cannot have "High-burys" to represent one end of the social scale unless they are prepared to "bury them low" at the other.

92. When the political evangelists of Tariff Reform sit down to read their Bibles, it may interest them to know that the folding of Bibles and Prayer Books is paid for at the rate of one penny per hundred sheets. It is essential that the women employed in this work should possess good credentials. By working 12 hours a day they may earn from 9/- to 10/- per week. We presume that Tariff Reform will remedy this, for the Protectionist Bible will probably be transferred to the columns of the *Daily Express*.

93. Under Capitalism periodical cycles of bad trade are inevitable. But who suffers the most from these trade depressions? The workers. Why? Because the surplus wealth which they have created is held by a few and is stored up until it can be sold at a profit. Throughout the whole industrial area the workers are compelled to produce three times the amount they are permitted to consume. Bad trade under such conditions is bound to come sooner or later. The longer it is delayed the more acute is the depression which naturally follows. Could folly carry us further than such a system as this? Tariff Reform cannot prevent this condition of things. The only solution to this question is Socialism.

94. Man is a tribal animal. Co-operation is therefore the natural law of human existence. Tariff Reform seeks to perpetuate the rights of exploiters to rob society of the results of its co-operative efforts. Tariff Reform, therefore, to the bulk of humanity means slavery.

95. To-day, starving families require bread. Where are the unemployed bakers and agriculturalists? The cold winds penetrate the shivering bones of the wretched and ill clad. Where is the army of unemployed spinners, tailors, weavers, hatters and wool workers? The weakly child trudges through the snow in her dilapidated shoes, contracts pneumonia and dies. Thousands like her die. Scores of thousands like her die. The bootmakers of Leicester cannot afford to purchase boots for their own families. *They have made too many—and trade is bad.* Thousands of pairs of boots are required; thousands of

pairs are stocked in the warehouses ready for sale, and the people cannot buy. Thousands of little feet benumbed and frost bitten. But what does it matter—trade is bad, and production for profit “stands no damned sentiment.” Tariff Reform means production for profit, therefore every true man in the country will refuse to allow himself to be led away by it.

96. To-day, under Free Trade, mammon worship eats into the heart of society. To-morrow, under Protection, the power of gold would still dominate over the lives of the masses. If the worker is being robbed, the method of robbery makes little difference to him. He is good picking either way. But the worker is beginning to see the light. He is gradually becoming conscious of his own power, and the possibilities of life are unfolding themselves to his mental vision. The future shall tell of reform far greater and nobler than that of a tinkering with tariffs. It is not Tariff barriers but Poverty barriers that the true man is out to erect.

97. We cannot serve God and mammon. We cannot exploit our fellow man without our own soul perishing with his. The noblest word we know is JUSTICE—the sweetest word is LOVE. To true men these words mean everything. Capitalism accepts chicanery as a virtue, and considers the robbery of the people as shrewd business instinct. Tariff Reform means the continuation of the Capitalistic system.

98. To produce sweet flowers needs the skilled and persistent care of the gardener. Every child that is born requires such cultivation as we give to the tenderest plant. Do they get it? No. Will Tariff Reform make such cultivation possible? No. The system upon which society is based must be altered. The glory of British manhood, womanhood and childhood lies in the hands of the people. The united voice of the workers is the determining factor. Reader, which is it to be, Mammon or Humanity!

99. Man is the noblest work of God. The conditions under which he lives is the work of Capitalism.

100. There are two paths for us to choose:—

C haos	S oliditary
A narchy	O rganisation
P overty	C omfort
I mmorality	I ntegrity
T imidity	A ssurance
A ntagonism	L ove
L unacy	I ntelligence
I ndifference	S ympathy
S orrow	M irth
M isery	

Which is it to be?

For information on Socialism and Social Problems

Read the following I.L.P. Penny Pamphlets.

Socialism.

SOCIALISM. By Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A.

SOCIALISM. By T. D. Benson.

SOCIALISM AND TEETOTALISM. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

SOCIALISM AND SERVICE. By T. D. Benson.

THE INDIVIDUAL UNDER SOCIALISM. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

SOCIALISM AND AGRICULTURE. By Richard Higgs.

SOCIALISM AND THE BUDGET. By H. Russell Smart.

SOCIALISM AND THE HOME. By Mrs. K. Bruce Glasier, B.A.

SOCIALISM TO-DAY. By J. R. MacDonald, M.P.

THE I.L.P. ALL ABOUT IT. By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Unemployment.

THE UNEMPLOYED BILL OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

By J. R. MacDonald, M.P.

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED. By G. N. Barnes, M.P.

AFFORESTATION. By T. Summerbell, M.P.

Women's Questions.

THE CITIZENSHIP OF WOMEN. By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

WOMAN—THE COMMUNIST. By T. D. Benson.

WOMAN'S FRANCHISE. By E. C. Wolstenholme Elmy.

Municipal Matters.

MUNICIPAL BREAD SUPPLY. By T. H. Griffin.

BRADFORD AND ITS CHILDREN. By Councillor J. H. Palin.

LONDON'S CHILDREN. By Miss McMillan & Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson

Miscellaneous.

THE MACHINE MONSTER. Frank M. Rose.

COTTON AND COMPETITION. By James Haslam.

CAN A MAN BE A CHRISTIAN ON A POUND A WEEK? By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

THE INDIAN BUDGET. By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT MADE PLAIN. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

RAILWAY NATIONALISATION. By G. J. Wardle, M.P.

OLD AGE PENSIONS. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

BACK TO THE LAND. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

INFANT MORTALITY. By Margaret McMillan.

SOCIAL EDUCATION. By F. Kettle, B.A.

MINING ROYALTIES. By T. I. Mardy Jones, F.R.E.S.

HENRY GEORGE FOR SOCIALISTS. By J. C. Wedgwood, M.P.

HINTS TO LLOYD GEORGE. By Philip Snowden, M.P.

HENRY GEORGE (A Biography). By G. N. Barnes, M.P.

KARL MARX (A Biography). By G. N. Barnes, M.P.

MY CONFESSION OF FAITH IN THE LABOUR ALLIANCE. By J. Keir Hardie, M.P.

One Penny Each, by Post 1½d.

I.L.P. Publication Department, 23 Bride Lane, Fleet St., London, E.C.

THE SOCIALIST LIBRARY.

THE LATEST VOLUME.

EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

A Criticism and an Affirmation.

By Edward Bernstein.

The "Labour Leader" says: "Back to the facts!" Such is the keynote of Bernstein's book. Its leading characteristics lie in its insistence on facts as against theories, its reliance on criticism as against dogma, its opposition of evolution to revolution, its emphasis of the vital importance of seizing every lever which may upraise the masses or give a lift to Socialism, its insistence on work as opposed to wind, and in the stress it lays on the necessity of the every-day work of the Socialist Party. To separate the wheat from the chaff, and the gold from the dross; to bring theories into harmony with facts, and Socialist methods into line with the forces of the age, are the leading objects of Bernstein's book—a book . . . well worthy the attention of readers throughout the English-speaking world."

Others in the same Series—

SOCIALISM and the DRINK QUESTION.

By Philip Snowden, M.P.

States the case for the Municipalisation of the Drink Traffic.

COLLECTIVISM and INDUSTRIAL EVOLUTION.

By Emile Vandervelde.

"Manchester Guardian."—"One of the cleverest, most logical, and most representative accounts of modern European Socialism."

SOCIALISM and POSITIVE SCIENCE.

(Darwin, Spencer, Marx)

By Enrico Ferri.

Professor Ferri says that "Darwinism is not only not in intellectual opposition to Socialism, but is its scientific foundation."

A book of paramount interest to all scientific students.

SOCIALISM and SOCIETY.

By J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P.

An admirable statement of the case for Socialism.

STUDIES in SOCIALISM.

By Jean Jaurès.

"Review of Reviews"—"Well worth reading by English Socialists and others who wish to keep in touch with the movement on the Continent."

Crown 8vo., Cloth 1s. 6d. net; Paper, 1s. net. Postage, 3d. extra.

Of all booksellers or direct from the I.L.P. PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT,

23, Bride Lane, Fleet Street, London, E.C.